178 the family members we were informed that A's daughter and
592 her four children had moved out of the village separately
621 to different places which could not be traced, while B's brother and sister went to live with a relative in Lam-loogga, also a rice growing village some fifteen miles to the north. The two chief bread winners of the family, A's husband and B's father, managed successfully to get themselves ordained and are now residing in the village temple. Early in 1953 B went to live with her relatives in Lam-loogga, leaving the sick old grandmother alone in Bangchan. [792] [828] The arrangement was that the old woman was to quit the old shack and take refuge in the secular part of the temple where it would be possible for her ex-husband, now a priest, to have two meals delivered to her every day. Just before the 1953 census was taken, however, she was taken to Lam-loogga. The last member of the disintegrating family was thus left out of the 1953 census.

178 Case 2: After the death of his first wife, an old
592 man in BC4 gave his two sons equal shares of his property.
587 He then acquired a second wife and built a separate quarter
736 apart from the main building, thus creating a new family of
621 two. In 1952 he was fatally hit by a truck on the Minburi road. After a few months of unhappy stay with one of her step sons, the widow acquired a new husband and moved out to a neighboring village.

178 Case 3: There was in BC4 a laboring family of three
592 consisting of an old man, his daughter, and her son. After
621
[166]

178 592 621 [593] because four members of her family had just left her to establish families of their own. The son-in-law accepted this invitation and had since taken over the management of his mother-in-law's large 60-rai rice farm.

Case 10: In 1949, an old woman was living with two boys, one distantly related to her, the other without any [427] [792] [431] blood relationship. She was operating a small rented rice farm. Some time in the past she had made a generous offer of her own house to the temple which was not acted upon by the receiving party. In 1953, the headpriest contemplated an expansion of one of the temple buildings and approached the woman for the gift. The woman complied with the request, had her house dismantled, saving only the kitchen, and sent all the building materials to the temple. Meanwhile, the two boys had left her; one went to live with his mother in [593] [431] the village, the other went to Bangkok. Later, the woman joined the household of her younger brother, who lived next door, with the understanding that the brother had free use of her buffalo in exchange for her room and board.

Case 11: In 1949, a woman was living in KY8 with her aged mother and her baby born of her separated husband [586] [587] who was a policeman. Two years later, the woman married a widower, who lived in the same hamlet, and brought along her mother and son to live with her new husband.

With the exception of Case 6, a lone aged woman who was survived by none after her death, these cases may be grouped according to the nature of acceptance of the families

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 different types of separation which will be described individually as follows:
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Case 1: This involved the two sons who inherited landed property from his father described in Case 2 for the disintegration of the family, and in fact this was the first Bangchan family we met in 1948. At that time the elder brother, then age 37, was a widower and was courting a woman in another village along the Minburi Road. His work in road construction and maintenance (the Minburi Road) gave him a good excuse for continued absence from home, leaving his two daughters and three sons under the care of his younger brother who was the family head. Just before the 1949 census was made, he married the woman and once again became settled down. Meanwhile the younger brother got a job in road construction. With regular monthly cash income, he took to drinking and established himself as one among the few notorious dipsomaniacs in the village. This was intolerable to the elder brother who finally moved his nuclear family out to their new home just across the road.

• [587] [464]

Case 2: In 1949, an unmarried woman was living in an 'extended' family headed by a son of her elder sister. The combined landed property of the family was 67 rai of rice land, 40 rai of which was a share of the woman and her aged mother who was also living in the family. Some time before the 1953 census was made the woman and her mother moved out to form a separate household. The reason for the separation was not quite clear. It was assumed, however,

583 the sanction of parents or guardians of either party. The latter case took the form of elopement -- the man taking the woman away from her family usually during the night and returning for pardon (normally granted) a few days after-
587 ward. Another intermediate type of marriage was common among independent family heads, usually widows and widowers, in which case the man and woman simply came to live with each other. Marriage between widows and widowers who had been living in their respective families as dependent mem-
583 bers also took this simplified form. Finally there was also marriage by capture, one case of which was reported during 1949-53 when a daughter of a laboring family in BC4 was kidnapped by a group of men who were allegedly helping a friend of theirs take the woman as his wife. Although this dramatic kind of marriage by capture was often spoken of, actually it rarely happened in the village. Even in the single case just mentioned, there was doubt on the part of fellow villagers that the victim was really ignorant of the plan.

583 In our records of major expenses of 96 families of
585 farm operators[8] during the period from 1949 to 1953, three
435 families reported expenses for conventional marriages. These expenses were for 1700, 6200, 7500 and 7500 baht for four sons which were dowries, in gold and cash. They were handed over to the brides' parents on the wedding day. Another family reported an expense of 5,300 baht for the marriage

8. See Chapter 6 as to how sampling for these 96 families was done.

591 proportion for immediate establishment was 20 out of 54 or
184 37 per cent for those married before 1932, and 10 out of
178 37 or only 27 per cent for those married after 1932. A declining trend was thus observed of the ability to establish a new family immediately after marriage.

591 Table 7 also shows that the 'nascent' period of 50
592 families (that had ones) ranged from one to twenty years,
184 averaging four years, the mode being one year, and the median
178 two years. Among the fifteen non-separating families, eight headships were taken over by offspring while one or both of the parents were still alive (we shall call this 'type A'), four headships were taken over by offspring through the death of parents (we shall call this 'type B'), and three headships were taken over by spouses ('type C'). The last mentioned changing over of family headship (type C) occurred in three ways: through marriage of a man to a female head of a family whereby the husband automatically became the family head, death of the husband, and desertion of the husband.

591 The changing over of the family headship of the type
592 B in Table 7 was a natural process of inheritance. In type
184 A, it was found that senility accounted for seven out of
428 eight cases of the changing over, the one exception being
587 the case of a widower who wanted to have a second wife and who thought that the family assets originally belonged to his first wife's biological family and therefore an outside woman should not lay a hand on the 300,000 baht property.